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PLACE-NAMES AND HISTORY

*Robert Spence Watson Memorial Lecture
delivered before the Literary and Philosophical
Society, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, September 25, 1922*

BY
ALLEN MAWER, M.A.

*Published for the Survey of English
Place-names*

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NOTE

IN publishing this lecture, whose sole purpose is to further the interests of the Survey of English Place-names now being carried on under the patronage of the British Academy, two words of cordial acknowledgment are due. The first is to Professor F. M. Stenton, whose advice and criticism in this as in all else that has to do with the Survey, have been of the greatest help to the author; the second to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-on-Tyne, to whose kindness the author is indebted for the occasion of its delivery.

A.M.

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PLACE-NAMES AND HISTORY

IN delivering the Spence Watson Memorial Lecture it is a matter at the same time both of duty and of keen personal pleasure for me to pay an opening word of tribute to the great Northumbrian in whose honoured memory it was founded.

When I first came to Newcastle some thirteen years ago Dr. Spence Watson was still a leader in all educational and philanthropic work. His health was already extremely precarious, but one still saw flashes of the great leader of men, of the student eager alike for the promotion of learning and for the dissemination of all the great and good things which learning can give to men. He himself, both by speech and writing, had done much to revive our interest in those great pioneers of learning and letters who made early Northumbria famous throughout Western Europe. His whole life and work were standing proofs of the entire difference between chauvinist nationalism and true patriotism. To the former he was utterly opposed by birth, instinct, and upbringing. Inspired by the latter he showed himself a great lover of England, still more of English speech, English letters, and English history. They were to him the very breath of life and in him they lived again. In venturing to-night to speak to you upon Place-names, a subject finding its very roots in English soil and English history, one would fain hope that some breath of inspiration from the man whom we are assembled to honour may fall on one who, however imperfectly, would desire to promote the same broad and humane ideals of study for which he himself stood.

From the earliest times civilised men have been interested in the origin and meaning of the names of places. Historians indulged freely in speculations upon their meaning. Sometimes they may have hit upon the truth, but as a rule their speculations were based upon an entirely inadequate or false basis of philological knowledge. When the Venerable Bede tells us of the flight of St. Wilfrid to Selsey in Sussex, he informs us that *Selæseu* means 'island of the marine cow,'¹ and he is probably correct if by his *vitulus marinus* he means a seal, for it is quite possible that they may then have frequented the Sussex coast. More puzzling is his interpretation of *Strenæshalc*, the scene of the Synod of Whitby, as 'bay of the lighthouse,'² if indeed that is the proper rendering of the Latin *sinus fari*, and one knows to what lively controversy his rendering of the old name for Gateshead as *caput caprae*, 'the head of the goat,'³ has led. Asser, in his *Life of Alfred*,⁴ gives us Celtic and Latin renderings of *Snotengaham*, the old name for Nottingham. They are, respectively, *Tigguo-cubauc* and *speluncarum domus*, and Celtic and Latin alike mean 'house of caves,' which is curiously apt in its description of Nottingham, but cannot possibly be a rendering of the O.E. *Snotengaham*, which clearly contains a patronymic. A little later the author of a life of St. Oswald tells us that the island of Ramsey in Huntingdonshire has been quite fittingly so called from the Latin *ramis*, 'branches,' and the English *ig*, 'an island,' for 'the island is as it were hedged round by great trees.'⁵ The interest of this monstrous hybrid is only excelled by that of the etymology which Prior Fossour suggested for Findon Hill near Durham. He is writing to Bishop Hatfield after the Battle of Neville's Cross and, when mentioning that the pursuit of the Scots

continued as far as Findon, he adds, perhaps by way of academic jest, that the place may have been prophetically so called as there the *fin* had been finally *donne* to the wars between the English and the Scots.⁶

Such etymologies are seldom correct, but they are always interesting; and in this, as in other matters of legendary history, it is well to remember that what people believed to be the truth is often more important historically than the truth itself.

In more recent times historians who have done great service to English, and more especially to Anglo-Saxon history, have turned again to place-names as a source of historical knowledge. John Mitchell Kemble based his far-reaching theories of family and tribal settlement of Early England, his famous 'mark-theory,' largely upon the evidence of place-names. Wherever he found names in *-ing* like Harling (Norf.), or in *-ingham* like Walsingham (*ib.*), or in *-ington* like Billington (Staffs.), he was inclined to interpret them as containing plural patronymic forms. Thus Harling means 'the sons of Hærel,' Walsingham means 'home-stead of the sons of Wæls,' and Billington 'farm of the sons of Billa.' All such names are taken as evidence for some form of family settlement. Further, he believed that such names should be closely associated with settlements on the Continent involving the same personal names. We must thus link up the *Wælsings* of Norfolk with the *Völsung* family of Scandinavian saga, whose most famous member was Sigurd himself.⁷ Now there is no doubt of the existence of names of these types in England and the first two are specially frequent in the districts first settled, but when we look at the names more closely and examine their early forms we find that, in a large number of these names, the *ing*

element, in the present day form, whether simple or compound, medial or final, goes back to something quite different in Old English and has no significance so far as any settlement is concerned.

In still more recent times Dr. Round has advanced a most interesting theory with regard to the Saxon settlement of Britain based on a study of the *-ingham* names in Sussex⁸ and their distribution in relation to the rivers; but though his conclusions are in the main correct, the evidence is to some extent vitiated by the fact that even so careful a scholar as Dr. Round has overlooked the fact that some of the *hams* go back to O.E. *hamm* rather than to O.E. *ham*. Now the latter suffix, the ancestor of our modern *home*, whatever its exact meaning in place-names may be, must have some historical significance in any treatment of the question of the Saxon settlement, but the former simply denotes 'a confined space,' or 'a bend in a river,' and is of purely topographical significance.

So far, then, we have full recognition of the value of place-names as a possible source of historical knowledge but false or unsatisfactory conclusions drawn from them. In all alike the causes are the same. Too much reliance has been placed on present-day forms or on forms of comparatively recent origin, and there has been a failure to collect adequate evidence as to the ultimate history of the name.

It is only within the last twenty years or so, largely owing to the pioneer efforts of the late Professor Skeat, that the great truth has been established which lies at the base of all place-name study, viz., that it is impossible to place any satisfactory interpretation upon the history of a name until we have traced it as far back as the records will allow, and that in many cases, unless the records go a good way back, speculations upon its

meaning are worse than useless. With the assertion of this cardinal truth place-name study passed at once out of the phase of speculative guesswork and became an exact science in which, so far as adequate evidence has been preserved, valid conclusions can be drawn which may be of real value to the historian.

Before dealing with these conclusions one may, however, point out certain gains incidental to these discoveries, whose value the historian will readily recognise. In our early records the sites of the chief incidents of our history, the scenes of its battles, sieges, treaties, and the like, are naturally recorded in the forms in use at that time. In very early documents, such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, these forms are at times so very different from their modern descendants that their identification is often a matter of great difficulty. Until a few years ago it was largely a matter of guesswork, and even to the present day many false identifications, with consequent vitiation of the history based on them, are current in our textbooks. Study of the historical development of the modern name will often explode the traditional identification and, what is more satisfactory, knowledge of the old forms of some other name will often reveal the correct one.

The Chronicle mentions two great fights at *Wodnesbeorg* in the struggle for supremacy between Wessex and Mercia.⁹ This has been traditionally identified with Wanborough in Wiltshire.¹⁰ It was enough that each contained a *w*, an *n*, and a *b*, and that the site was not impossible. When we go back, however, in the history of the name we find that Wanborough was *Wænbeorgan* in Saxon times¹¹ and cannot possibly be the same as *Wodenesbeorg*, whereas there actually is a barrow in Alton Priors in Wiltshire

which we know, on the authority of a Saxon Charter of 825, to have been called *Wodnesbeorg*.¹² The name is no longer extant, the barrow being now known as Adam's Grave, but it is clearly the true site of the battle.¹³

Or again, the Chronicle in 833 and 840 mentions fights with the Danes at a place called *æt Carrum*. This has commonly been identified with Charmouth in Dorsetshire,¹⁴ but that is phonetically impossible. In Domesday *Cernemude*¹⁵ is the form given for Charmouth, and rightly so, for it stands at the mouth of the River Cerne. Mr. Bruce Dickins demonstrated recently that the place is really to be identified with Carhampton on the Somersetshire coast, whose early forms suggest that its first element is the very word *carrum*, 'at the rocks,' with which Northumbrians are familiar in Carham-on-Tweed. At Carhampton there is a wild and rocky valley which might fittingly be thus described.¹⁶

Place-names may tell us of otherwise unknown movements from one district or kingdom into another. The early forms of Conderton in Worcestershire and Exton in Hampshire are *Cantuaretun* and *East Seaxnatun*,¹⁷ i.e., farm of the men of Kent and of the men of Essex respectively. These incursions, peaceful or otherwise, find no other record than in place-names.

Place-names may preserve the last trace of some powerful people or ancient settlement. The *Wyč* in Wychwood Forest in Oxfordshire is the sole surviving trace of the ancient Mercian kingdom of the *Hwicce*, who settled in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and part of Oxfordshire.¹⁸ Florence of Worcester's *Țtene*¹⁹ as the name of the district in which the New Forest stands is the last trace of the Jutish settlement in South Hampshire. The Chertsey Cartulary tells us of a

district called *Sunninges*,²⁰ clearly the name of some powerful family of settlers. The 'provincia' has been lost, but it has left its mark in Sonning, Sunninghill and Sunningwell.

Lost tribes may be recovered. Bede mentions a district which he calls in *Feppingum*²¹ and says was in the province of Middle Anglia. This was very effectively lost until place-name study showed that there is a place now called Phepson (formerly *Fepsetnatun*)²² in Himbleton in Worcestershire, not far over what must have been the southern border of Middle Anglia. *Feppingas* means the settlers in or on Fepp, whatever that was. *Fepsæte* means the settlers at or from *Fepp*, and it is clear that the two places are connected. Probably there was a small settlement of men from the Fepping district at Phepson.

There are two peoples of allied race to our own, one in Saxon times and the other in post-Conquest days, who played an important part in our history which has not as yet received its full meed of attention. I refer to the Frisians and Flemings. According to one tradition the Frisians actually took part in the conquest of England and we know that, as the great seafaring nation of Western Europe, their sailors helped Alfred against the Vikings. Both Frisians and Flemings have left a deep mark on our place-names. Among those due to the former we may mention Friesthorp and two Friestons in Lincolnshire, Friston in Lincolnshire and Sussex, two Frisbys in Leicestershire, more than one Fryston in Yorkshire, Frizington in Cumberland and Frizinghall near Bradford. To the latter we may ascribe Fleming Hall in Cumberland and Flimby in the same county, Flempton in Suffolk, Flendish in Cambridgeshire, Flimwell in Sussex. All the latter contain the name *Fleming* as their first element.

Hoary legends may also be destroyed by the same process of the study of the early forms of place-names. When we find Dukesfield near Hexham was called *Dukesfeld* nearly two hundred years before the battle of Hexham we can no longer believe that the farm was so called from the capture there of the Duke of Somerset after the Battle of Hexham.²³ When Sandiacre in Nottinghamshire is already called *Sandiriaca*²⁴ [*sic*] in Domesday, all the clerical authority in the world which has more than once been hurled at the head of the student of place-names cannot produce any conviction that the place is really so called from St. Jean d'Acre, and Dr. Round has written very amusingly of such legends as that of the founding of Colchester by King Cole, whose fate is sealed by the form *Colneceaster* in the Saxon Chronicle,²⁵ which shows clearly that Colchester is the Roman fort on the River Colne and not the city once ruled over by old King Cole, and of Abbot's Lench in Worcestershire, which really has no ecclesiastical associations at all but instead was once held or owned by a man bearing the somewhat prosaic name of *Abba*.²⁶

But, as I said at the outset, these are merely incidental services which place-name study may render to the cause of historical truth. Its greatest value lies in the material which it affords, not for the correction of the minutiae of historical fact, important as they may be, or in its power of exploding ill-founded legend, but on the constructive side. Fortunate as we may be in comparison with other nations in the wealth of our early documents, it is still true that for the reconstruction of our past history, more especially of our history before the Norman Conquest, our documentary evidence is often miserably inadequate and has for the most part been worked until it is threadbare. There

is little or no hope of much that is fresh being got out of the major documents, and on many points of interpretation scholars are in hopeless disagreement. Apart from the documents there are only two sources of information left open to us. The one is Archaeology and the other is Place-name Study. We are only just beginning to appreciate them at their true value, and the second is as yet an almost unworked mine. When these two fields have been fully explored we may hope to have a fresh store of historical facts of the utmost value, not only in themselves, but also because with their aid we shall be able to go back once more to our documents and we shall find in the light of our fuller knowledge of the facts that many dark places are now clear, many of the gaps in our documentary evidence have been made good, and it may even be that some of the contending historians will then find it possible to reconcile their differing judgments upon the matters in hand.

Let us look in a little more detail at the ways in which this may be brought about. Among the darkest problems of our history are the stories of Celtic Britain and of the conquest and settlement of Celtic Britain by its Teutonic invaders. We know all too little of the racial divisions of Celtic Britain. Place-name study can do much in enabling us to distinguish between the Brythonic and the Goidelic elements in Britain. A study of our river names is revealing to us very clearly the existence of a pre-Celtic element in our midst, and with its aid we may hope to establish the racial affinities of these pre-Celtic inhabitants far more definitely and clearly than has ever been possible in the past.

On the question of the survival of a Celtic population in Britain it has been pointed out long since that the

great majority of the Waltons, Walcotes, Walworths, Walfords, and the like, scattered up and down England give evidence of the survival of small groups of *Wealas*, i.e., foreigners or Britons, amid their conquerors, but Dr. Ekwall, in his recent epoch-making book on the *Place-names of Lancashire*, has shown how on the evidence of the place-names of that county it is possible to demonstrate the existence of certain clearly-marked islands of Celtic population which must have long survived amid the Anglian settlements, more especially in certain districts which, by reason of their physical features, were more or less inaccessible at that time.²⁷

In an earlier book, *Scandinavians and Celts in North-West Britain*, he showed, on the basis of similar evidence, how we may distinguish in Cumberland, Westmorland and North Lancashire, Celtic names of Brythonic origin from names due to the influence of Scandinavian settlers who had come from Ireland and the Isles, and were familiar with Gaelic methods of place-nomenclature. Such curious inversion compounds, i.e., compounds with inversion of the usual order of the elements, as we find in *Aspatria*, i.e., ash Patrick or *Butterilket*, i.e., booths *Ulfketill*, in place of the normal 'Patrick's ash' or 'Ulfketill's booths,' could only have been given by Scandinavian settlers familiar with Irish methods of place-nomenclature.²⁸

Place-name study is showing too how dangerous it is to assume that because a place bears a name which looks convincingly English, therefore the place-name, and ultimately the settlement itself, takes its rise from English settlers. What could be more convincingly English in origin than the old names *Eoforwic* for York, *Searoburh* for Salisbury, or the Suffolk *Dunwich*, going back to the thirteenth century? One would say

that they were good Anglo-Saxon names meaning respectively 'boar-dwelling,' 'fort of trickery,' and 'hill-dwelling,' did we not happen to know that all these forms are merely folk-perversions of earlier Celtic names, *Eburacum*, *Sorbidunum*, and *Domnoc*, and one cannot but suspect that a great deal of this has gone on throughout the development of our English place-names. Unluckily we seldom have the evidence definitely to prove it.

We come next to the evidence which place-names may throw upon the racial divisions and spheres of influence of our Teutonic conquerors, upon the fashion and manner of the English Conquest of Britain. Dr. Ekwall has shown recently how a study of them may help us in distinguishing the parts played by the Northumbrians and Mercians in the Anglian conquest of what we now call Lancashire.²⁹ A comparison of the place-names of Kent with those of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight might reinforce the archaeological evidence and give at least³⁰ one more criterion by which we might judge the extent and character of the impress made upon these districts by the early Jutish settlements of which Bede speaks.

On the manner of the settlement we should have a flood of light if only we had really worked out the full meaning and force of the various suffixes used in our place-names. We have suffixes *ton*, *worth*, *wich* and *wick* and *ham*, all commonly rendered more or less vaguely and unsatisfactorily as 'enclosure, dwelling, farm, homestead.' We are now beginning to discover that each of them probably once had a distinctive and well-defined meaning. Dr. G. B. Grundy, working on the evidence of Saxon Charters for Wiltshire, shows that the suffix *worth* occurs seventy-five times, in seventy-three of which it has an attribute prefixed.

Of these eight are descriptive, eleven are uncertain, and no less than fifty-four are personal. On the other hand, there are forty-six *wicks*, forty-three of which are accompanied by an attribute. Thirty-seven are descriptive, four are uncertain, and two are personal. He rightly suggests that this contrast points to the fact that the *worth* was some kind of personal possession while the *wick* denoted something which belonged to the community generally, and goes on to show that the descriptive elements used with *wick* make it clear that in many cases we should be justified in rendering it as 'dairy-farm.'³¹ Or, to take another case from these districts, more than one scholar has recently suggested to me, quite independently, that the frequency with which place-names containing *wic* as their first element are associated with Roman remains suggests that in these cases at least *wic* should be connected with the Latin *vicus*. Wickham Bushes in Berkshire and in Hertfordshire, Weekley in Northamptonshire, and many other Wickhams are either adjacent to or on the line of a Roman road.

Another suffix of interest is *stow*. This is usually rendered 'place,' and we are not thereby committed to very much. Recently I examined all the names in *stow* for which I had early forms. There were some forty in all. In seventy-five per cent. of them the name was compounded with a saint's name or used in close association with it, or else was compounded with such a word as 'Christian,' 'God,' or 'holy.' In illustration of the first class I may mention Hibbaldstow in Lincolnshire from St. Hygebeald, Instow in Devonshire from St. John, and Stow-on-the-Wold in Gloucestershire which was once Stow St. Edward. For the second class we may note Christow in Devon, Godstow in Oxfordshire and Halstow in Devon.³²

It is clear, therefore, that the chief use of *stow* in Early English place-names was, like that of the Welsh *llan*, to denote land dedicated to the service of some saint or of the church generally. Bridstow in Herefordshire affords interesting confirmation of this. In the Book of Llandaff it is called *Lann San Bregit*.³³ Instow Church is dedicated to St. John Baptist, Stow-on-the-Wold to St. Edward the Confessor, and Scawby, the next parish to Hibbaldstow, to St. Hygebeald.

But not only have we to discover the meaning of the various suffixes in use, we have also to examine their distribution. Surely it is of the utmost importance in studying the question of the English settlement of Britain to note and endeavour to explain such facts as the following, based upon an analysis of the distribution throughout England of all those suffixes which can in any way be associated with the manner of the settlement, as distinct from those which are of a purely descriptive and topographical character. (For convenience' sake I present them in the form of percentages of the whole number of such names examined.)

For the suffix *ham* the distribution figures are as follows :—Norfolk 26 per cent., Suffolk 22, Essex 15, Cambridge 22, Surrey 25, Sussex 21. As we go westward there is a regular and well-marked fall, and the figures for the Western border counties are :—Cheshire 5 per cent., Staffordshire 1, Shropshire 1, Herefordshire 3, Worcestershire 5, Gloucestershire, 2.

On taking the same group of counties and examining the distribution of the suffix *ton* we get the following results :—Norfolk 33 per cent., Suffolk 22, Cambridgeshire, 40, Essex 17, Surrey 18, Sussex 31, in contrast to Cheshire 51 per cent., Staffordshire 48, Shrop-

shire 58, Herefordshire 66, Worcestershire 45, and Gloucestershire 48.

At this stage of our studies we are hardly in a position adequately to account for these striking differences or for others which might be similarly demonstrated. We are only at the beginning of our investigations, but no one can doubt the intense significance from the historical point of view of these and many other like phenomena with which I might deal if time permitted.

Another point of great interest is to try to discover, so far as may be, the relative age of the various suffixes in use in our place-names and thereby make some progress towards settling another important historical question, viz., the time at which various names and types of names first made their appearance on the map. We are too much inclined to look upon them all as more or less of the same age. The truth is, as Maitland pointed out long since, that the map of England was not written out, as it were, in one hand or at one time. It is 'the most wonderful of all palimpsests,'³⁴ and if we are to interpret it aright we must distinguish the age and activities of the various scribes who have had a hand in it.

For the solution of the first problem we may well endeavour to discover what suffixes were in living use at particular periods of our history. For the Anglo-Saxon period we have the incomparable wealth of material to be found in the Saxon charters from the seventh century onwards. From them we can gather very full information as to the types of place-name in use at that time in Southern, South-Eastern and South-Western England. We shall be safe in assuming that types other than these, found on the present-day map, are not of Anglo-Saxon origin. For the time of the Norman Conquest we have the all-important

Domesday Book. It is a well-known fact that there are a good many place-names in Domesday which evidently contain as their first element the personal name of the tenant *TRE* or *TRIW* recorded in the same entry. Thus Blackmanstone in Kent was held *TRE* by one *Blacman*.³⁵ From such a name as this it is clear that the suffix *tun* was a living one in the days of the Conquest; and if we examine the evidence of Domesday as a whole, we find, so far at least as my investigations have carried me, that the only suffixes denoting human habitation or settlement still in living use at the time of the compilation of the Domesday record were *ton*, *cote*, *ley*, *worthy* and *field*. I know of no case of *ham* or *worth*, and this is significant of their age.

Coming still further down we find plenty of evidence for the active survival of *ton* as a place-name suffix in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in such names as Marlston in Berkshire, earlier *Marteleston*, held in 1264 by Richard Martel³⁶ or Forston in Dorsetshire, earlier *Forsardeston*, held in 1285 by William Forsard.³⁷ Similarly the active survival in post-Conquest times of the suffix *by* is witnessed by such names as Aglionby in Cumberland, involving the Anglo-Norman name *Agyllun*³⁸ and by two interesting cases recently pointed out to me by Colonel Parker, President of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. Halnaby in Yorkshire seems to have taken its name from one *Halnath* living there in 1218, and Jolby in the same county from one *Joel* living at about the same time.³⁹ Such names as these last show clearly that we are not justified in assuming that wherever we have the suffix *by* we have an actual Scandinavian settlement.

We are only at the beginning of the examination of evidence of this kind, and unfortunately its collection is

by no means an easy task, for the particular detail which illuminates the whole matter is only too often likely to remain unobserved even by the most careful reader of the document in which it is found. Its significance is by no means always apparent at first glance.

With one other great field of historical investigation in which place-names evidence plays an important part you are doubtless in some measure familiar. I refer to the way in which place-names may be used in determining the extent and character of the Viking settlements in various parts of England. Critically used they may be of the utmost value. They may, as Dr. Ekwall has recently shown in his Lancashire book, enable us to distinguish the part played by Danish and Norse invaders in these settlements;⁴⁰ they may, as I tried to show in a lecture before this Society some two years ago, enable us to trace very distinct evidence of small Scandinavian settlements in Northumberland, where all the rougher and readier tests for such fail us entirely.⁴¹ Since that time a yet more interesting case has come under my notice.

Eastern and North-Eastern England were, we know, settled by Danes rather than Norsemen; but in the tenth century, Norsemen from Ireland and the Isles were very busy in Yorkshire and the Danelaw generally.⁴² They have left their mark in the decoration used in the carved stones of certain districts of Yorkshire as distinct from those which show the more common Jellinge or Anglo-Danish type of ornamentation.⁴³ The presence of these Norse settlers is confirmed by three pieces of place-name evidence.

First, the term Northman was in Old English used of a Norseman, as distinct from a Dane. Now there are many Normanbys and Normantons in the Danelaw,

but there are none in Cumberland, Westmorland, or Lancashire. The apparent anomaly really proves the truth of the story of the Norse settlements in the East. Norse settlers in a Danish area would be distinctively so called by their Anglo-Danish neighbours. In a purely Norse area Normanton and Normanby would have no meaning. Every place might have been so called.

Second, there is a puzzling group of names in Yorkshire—Arras, Arram, Eryholme, Argam, Airy Holme⁴⁴—all derived from the Norse *erg*, ‘a shealing,’ ‘a pasture-farm.’ The word is a Norse borrowing from Irish and unknown in Denmark. It could only have come in through Norse Vikings from Ireland or the Isles.

Third, the Irbys and Irebys and Irton in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire are Irish *bys* and *tons*, so distinguished because settled by Vikings nicknamed the ‘Irishmen’ from the fact that they had come from the Norse settlements in Ireland.

Enough has been said, I hope, to show how important is the part which place-name study may play in the reconstruction of the past. Before I conclude I should like to say something also of its great value, its largely unsuspected value, as an aid not only in reconstructing but also in illustrating our past history. Again and again in our history lessons or lectures, whether they deal with political or social history, we might bring to bear effective evidence from place-names in concrete illustration of the points under discussion.

Let me take a few illustrations.

When we are speaking of the well-known distinction between *bocland* and *folcland* in Anglo-Saxon times, between land granted to some individual or corporation by *boc* or charter, and *folcland* which was not so

distributed, would not the matter best be brought home, at least in a large number of the counties of England, by pointing out that all the Bucklands scattered up and down the country are nothing but cases of *bocland* and that, as is only natural, *folccland* as a place-name is much more rare, indeed, I only know of one case, that of Faulkland in Somersetshire ?⁴⁵ The way in which, with the one exception of Buckland in Lincolnshire, the Bucklands are confined to the South of England gives cause for reflection as to whether the system of grant by *boc* or charter ever really prevailed to any great extent outside that area.

Or we may be speaking of the assessment of all estates at so many hides and mentioning how common was the grouping of these hides in blocks of five and ten units or multiples of these. We could, in illustration of this, point not only to the familiar Hyde as a place-name, which you will find all over the South and Midlands, but still better, one could point to a Fivehead in Somersetshire, three Fifeheads in Dorsetshire, Fyfield in Gloucestershire, two Fyfields in Berkshire and one in Hampshire and one in Essex, two Fifields in Oxfordshire and two in Wiltshire, each representing an earlier 'Five-hide.' Of these some ten are mentioned in Domesday and seven are actually assessed at five hides.⁴⁶ One of the Berkshire Fyfields is assessed at twenty hides—a remarkable increase, while the Somerset Fivehead is assessed at only one-and-a-half hides. The ten-hide unit is illustrated in Tinhead in Wiltshire, for earlier 'ten-hide' and the same is still more effectively disguised in Combe-in-Teignhead in Devonshire. Unluckily, neither of these is mentioned in Domesday, but we have a good example of a higher multiple in Piddle Trenthide, also known as Piddle *thretty* or thirty Hide in the Middle Ages. This is

duly assessed at that amount in Domesday.⁴⁷ The present-day forms show how completely the origin of many of these names has been forgotten.

We are all familiar with the old division of the shires into hundreds or, in the Scandinavian districts, into wapentakes, each with their *moots*, *things*, or assemblies, but what a flood of fresh light is thrown on their character by a study of the names of the meeting-places from which they took their names. The meetings seldom or never took place in any well-known centre of population, in village, town or city. Rather they were held in some wild and open country spot, chosen either because it was generally accessible to all who had a right to attend or else because of the presence of some ancient barrow, some cross or stone, some sacred object hallowed by time or superstition. So remote and unimportant were these centres of assembly that it is often very difficult nowadays to identify their actual sites. Let us look at some of their names a little more closely.

We are all familiar with Glasgerion's 'full great oath by oak and ash and thorn,' the sacred trees of the North, and we are not surprised to find that many hundreds take their names from thorn-bushes, ash-trees and oaks. One of the thorn bushes is called, significantly enough, Spelthorne, i.e., the thorn of spell or speech. We have examples also of hundreds taking their names from the box, the alder, a clump of willows and a thicket.⁴⁸ Some sixteen others, additional to these, include the element 'tree' in their name. There are two 'long or tall trees,' an 'apple-tree,' a 'grey tree,' beside many others named after their owners. One of the Wiltshire hundreds met at an alder-stump; in Northamptonshire we have a meeting in a grove with a new building, perhaps

a hall of assembly in it ; and in the Danelaw we have three wapentakes whose names now end in *land*, which are really formed from the O.N. *lundr*, a grove, a word which may well have still had the same heathen associations which it had in Scandinavia.⁴⁹

Hills natural or artificial, we are not surprised to find, often formed the meeting-place. Such are Pirehill or 'peartree-hill' in Staffordshire, Smithdown or 'smooth down'⁵⁰ in Norfolk, Radcliffe or 'redcliff' in Somersetshire and Staincliffe or 'rocky cliff' in Yorkshire. The two commonest suffixes denoting meeting-places of this type are *law* or *low* from O.E. *blaw*, and *barrow* or *borough* from O.E. *beorg*. Either of these O.E. words may be used equally well of a hill or artificial mound, whether barrow or mote-hill. Among them we find two 'rough' barrows, a 'long' barrow, two 'swains' or peasants' barrows, a 'knights' or freemen's barrow, and many others named from their owners, or yet more probably from the hero or chieftain whose burial place they had once formed.⁵¹ Closely allied to these we have, especially in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, hundreds whose name ends in O.N. *haugr*, the Scandinavian equivalent of the terms just discussed. Among them we may note especially the Norfolk Thingoe, 'howe of the *thing* or assembly' and Gallow, earlier *Galghou*, where the howe seems to have been crowned by a gallows. In Dorsetshire we find the corresponding British word in the Hundred of Creech.⁵²

Ancient camps or fortifications as places of assembly are marked more than once by the presence of the suffix *bury*, the best example being perhaps Badbury Hundred in Dorsetshire which met at Badbury Rings, the site of an ancient camp. Of assemblies at stones

we may note a Whitestone in Somersetshire and a Whitstone in Gloucestershire, Greatstones in Gloucestershire and Staine in Cambridgeshire. These are but a few among many. At times the place of assembly was marked by some staple, post or pillar as in the hundreds of Staple in Sussex and Wiltshire and of Thurstable, earlier *Turestaple*, in Essex.⁵³ In such names as Swineshead in Gloucestershire and Manshead in Bedfordshire we may have, as Dr. Bradley has suggested, yet more interesting reference to some banner or other symbol bearing the figure of an animal or man used as the sign of assembly for that particular hundred. In Christian times it was often marked by a cross, as in Brothercross and Giltcross in Norfolk, and Staincross and possibly Buckrose⁵⁴ in Yorkshire.

Convenience as a meeting-place probably accounts for the large number of hundredal names in which we have mention of a ford or bridge. The former are specially common in East Anglia, the latter are found in all parts of England.

Mention of the numerous unofficial *shires* like Hexhamshire and several other shires in your own Northumberland, or of Hallamshire and Richmondshire in Yorkshire, which have survived into modern times, would serve to illustrate another great feature of mediaeval life, viz., the existence of 'liberties' where the king's writ did not run, where some great noble or powerful corporation held practically independent sway.

Of slightly different significance is the curious *harness* found in Berkeley Harness in Gloucestershire—about whose origin there has been much idle speculation—in Lugharness in Herefordshire and Bromfield Harness in Shropshire. All alike go back to the O.E. *hierness*, 'hearing,' and mark districts which

‘heard,’ ‘obeyed,’ or ‘belonged’ to the manors or estates from which they took their names.⁵⁵

Two interesting questions of ownership are happily illustrated by place-names. There has been a good deal of discussion about the question of the ownership of land by women in early times. There is abundance of pre-Conquest evidence from place-names for the existence of this, and from all parts of England. We may note as examples Afflington in Dorset, Bucklebury in Berkshire, Balterley in Staffordshire, Wilderley in Shropshire, Hilborough in Norfolk, Worldham in Hampshire in Saxon England. The early forms of these names show that they contain the female names of Aelfrun, Burghild, Bealdthryth, Wilthryth, Hildeburh, Wærhild.⁵⁶ Similarly in the Danelaw we have Ravensthorpe in Lincolnshire, Gunthorpe in Nottinghamshire, Helperthorpe and Hilderthorpe in Yorkshire contain the Scandinavian women’s names Ragnhildr, Gunnhildr, Hialp and Hildr.⁵⁷

Investigation into the history of the Saxon church shows that often the church was regarded as a profit-yielding appurtenance to an estate and that one has in many cases to speak of an ‘owned’ church. In the twelfth century the ‘owner’ of a church could grant it to a clerk in formulae which would be appropriate, e.g., for the grant of a mill. The owner would stipulate for a yearly rent and the tenant would pledge his faith to pay it.⁵⁸ This is illustrated by the way in which a place-name in *church* often has the owner’s name prefixed to it. Alvechurch in Worcestershire is ‘Aelfgyth’s church,’ Buckminster in Leicestershire is ‘Bucca’s minster,’ Offchurch in Warwickshire is ‘Offa’s church,’ while Pitminster involves the patronymic *Pipping*. In Layston in Hertfordshire, which was originally ‘Leofstan’s church,’ the ‘church’

has been dropped and we are left simply with the owner's name.⁵⁹ It is worth noting that in the first case we have a church owned by a woman.

Or, to turn to a somewhat different field of historical study, viz., the part played by freemen in the Early English social system. What abundance of evidence would be furnished in illustration of this by a study of our place-names! The numerous Knightons, Knightleys and the like scattered up and down England all contain as their first element the O.E. *cnicht*, 'young man,' 'freeman,' in its genitive plural form. In three cases we can actually trace the freemen in Domesday. Knighton in Berkshire was held by 5 *liberi homines*, in Dorsetshire by 2 *taini* and in Hampshire by 8 *liberi homines*. It is noteworthy that all these are *TRE*. By the time of William they were held by individual tenants.⁶⁰

The word *cild*, our 'child,' the 'Childe' of 'Childe Rowland to the dark tower came' and other ballads, possibly represented a higher social status than the *cnicht*. It is found in many of the Chiltons and Chilcotes which are fairly common in the South and Midlands and in Child Hanley and Childerley. In one case only have the 'children' been traced in Domesday, viz., in Childerley, which was held *TRE* by 4 *sochemanni*.⁶¹

Lower down in the social scale stood the *swan* or peasant, who has left us many names like Swanton in Norfolk, i.e., 'farm of the peasants,' two Swantons in Kent, Swanbourne in Buckinghamshire, Swanage in Dorsetshire, Swampton, Swanmore, Swanthorpe and Swanwick in Hampshire, and Swanborne in Sussex. In none of these cases have we in Domesday anything other than a single tenant, and this makes it look as if we should look upon the 'swains' as persons dwelling at

these places but not as holding or owning land. Yet more familiar are the Charltons which we find from Northumberland to the Isle of Wight, all from O.E. *ceorla tun*, 'farm of the *ceorls* or freemen.' One would like to trace their holders in Domesday, but the task is a big one. My impression is that there are not many cases like that of Charlton in Northamptonshire where we duly find *TRE* 4 *taini liberi*⁶² in possession. All these names alike, with the possible exception of those in *swan*, represent, I believe, settlements formed originally by some group of freemen as distinct from those which were in the hands of some great eorl and his retainers. That so few are in the possession of freemen in Domesday is a measure of the decline of freedom since the days of the Saxon Conquest.⁶³

In similar fashion we might illustrate the Scandinavian social system and more especially its qualities of freedom, equality, and independence by reference to many names used in the Danelaw. One would, in the first place, point to the numerous Carltons in these counties, sown a good deal more thickly than the equivalent English Charltons. But there are also other types of name of interest in this connexion. Bonby in Lincolnshire and Burstwick in the East Riding, earlier *Bondebrustwyk*,⁶⁴ both contain the O.N. *bondi*, 'a peasant farmer,' apparently in the genitive plural form. Now Bonby was held *TRE* by Grinketill, Halfdanr, and four other *taini*,⁶⁵ while we hear as late as 1297 that the 'bonde' of Burstwick held of the king certain lands in that town.⁶⁶ In Drointon in Staffordshire, Drinkstone in Suffolk, Dringhouses and Dringhoe in Yorkshire, we have illustrations of yet another social class, the *dreng* or warrior class, and these would serve to give colour to discussions of the

system of *drengage* tenure so widely prevalent in the Middle Ages in your own Palatinate and elsewhere in the North of England. Of the Scandinavian 'freedmen' as distinct from the 'freemen' we have illustrations in two Lazenbys in Yorkshire and Lazonby in Cumberland, both alike containing O.Dan. *leisingr*, 'a freedman' and denoting 'farm or village of the freedmen.'⁶⁷

While speaking of Scandinavian England I may remind you of the two Thingwalls, one in Lancashire and the other in Cheshire, which were in all probability actual *thingvellir* or 'plains of assembly,' in the full sense of the term, for meetings of the Scandinavian settlers in those districts, or your own Dingbell Hill in Whitfield, whose use as such is not so certain, and of Brampton and Ecclesall Bierlows in Yorkshire, small *bys* districts governed by their respective *by-laws* (O.N. *byjar-lög*), which may serve in illustration of the great interest and skill shown by the Vikings in all legal matters. Whether from Lemon's Hill in Lancashire,⁶⁸ earlier 'lawman's hill,' some Scandinavian *lawman* actually proclaimed the law to the district or whether it is so called simply from its owner who, like the poet Layamon, was christened or nicknamed 'Lawman,' one cannot be certain.

But it is not only on the political and social aspects of mediaeval history that a study of place-names furnishes useful illustrations and suggestions. They help to reproduce for us the life of the countryside in all its varied aspects. At one time it was a favourite exercise of the student of folk-lore and early religion to find Balders and Thors wherever one found place-names beginning with these elements. The Balders probably all go back simply to the Old English personal name Bealdhere, while *Thor* or *Thur* was a common

personal name and element in compound personal names in Scandinavia. The only clear cases of the use of the name of some heathen god of which I am aware are those which contain the name of the great god Woden. His name is to be found in the *Wodenesbeorg* referred to above, in Woodnesborough in Kent, in Wednesbury in Staffordshire, in all of which his name is associated with a barrow or hill, in Wednesfield in Staffordshire and in Wensley in Derbyshire. Wansdyke an ancient earthwork stretching from a point east of Savernake for some sixty miles, nearly as far as the Bristol Channel, is really Woden's Dyke, and, like many other such pre-historic relics, was conceived to be of divine or else of demonic origin.⁶⁹ Of the Scandinavian pantheon the only certain trace of which I am aware is in Roseberry Topping, a well-known hill in the North Riding, whose earlier name was *Outhenesberg*, 'hill of Othin,' the Scandinavian counterpart of the hills of Woden just mentioned.⁷⁰

Mention has been made of names in *lund*, indicating perhaps a sacred grove. Of similar type we have Harrow in Middlesex, meaning the heathen sanctuary (O.E. *bearg*) and Harrowden in Northamptonshire, which seems to be 'sanctuary hill.'⁷¹

Of other heathen beliefs we have that in dwarfs, suggested by Dwerry-house in Lancashire and Dwarraden in Yorkshire, 'dwarf-ridden house and valley' respectively; in giants, as in Thrushgill and Thursden in Lancashire, 'gill and valley of the giant' (O.N. *þyrs*); in spectres, ghosts and the like, in two Grimshaws in Lancashire (O.E. *grima*, spectre), 'woods of the spectre.'⁷² In Pucklechurch in Gloucestershire it looks as if the old *pucel* or goblin of heathen belief had continued to hold his own even in the precincts of the church. Shugborough in

Staffordshire and Shuckborough in Warwickshire⁷³ and Shecklow in Buckinghamshire are all of them barrows haunted by the ghosts of the warriors buried there, the first element being O.E. *scucca*, 'a demon.'⁷⁴ Drakelow in Derbyshire, 'dragon's barrow,' reminds us of the firm belief in dragons in those days, a belief so firm that a Northern chronicler tells us in all seriousness that in the year 793 fiery dragons were seen flying in Northumbria, while the Old English Gnostic Verses of proverbial wisdom tell us in one and the same breath that the dragon must ever haunt the barrow and the fish bring forth their young in the sea.⁷⁵

Christianity was unluckily only too successful in driving out most of these ancient beliefs and superstitions, at least publicly and officially, but it has itself left its own mark on the place-names of the countryside. Village crosses were once as common in England as they are once again becoming, as memorials of the Great War. Place-names remind us of this. Kismeldon Bridge in Devon and Christian Malford in Wiltshire are respectively the 'hill and ford marked by the *cristmæl*,' i.e., the Christ sign or cross. Crutch in Worcestershire and Crouch End in Middlesex show the equivalent French term, while Malden in Surrey, Maldon in Essex, and Maulden in Bedfordshire, probably all have as their first element a shortened form of *cristmæl*.⁷⁶

Many places take their name from their church, though curiously enough the word *church* has in place-names got hopelessly entangled with the heathen British *cricb*, a barrow or moot-hill, and some names in *church*, as, for example, the Churchills of South and South-west England, are really 'cricb-hills,' and at least one *kirk* in Northumberland is an example of the same metathesis. Kirkley in Ponteland is

really *Crikklelawe*, and any one who cares may to this day see the mote-hill from which it takes its name. Places in *eccles*, simple and compounded, remind us of Celtic Christianity, for many of them contain the British form of the Latin *ecclesia*, preserved to this day in Cornwall and Wales as *eglos* (e.g., Egloshayle) and *eglwys* (e.g., Eglwysfach) respectively.

Some names throw light on the appearance and architecture of the churches of those days. The Whitechapels and Whitchurches are of significantly frequent occurrence. These and Ivychurch are self-explanatory, but others call for a word of comment. Bradkirk in Lancashire, earlier *Bredkirk*, is so called from the *bredes* or planks (O.E. *bred*) from which it was built, perhaps half-oak timbers like those found to this day at Greenstead in Essex. In Frome Vauchurch in Dorsetshire and Vowchurch in Herefordshire we have the equivalent of the Scottish *Falkirk*, the Gaelic *Egglesbrec*, the speckled or variegated church. Does this describe a half-timbered black and white church such as is still fairly common in Cheshire?⁷⁴ Hornchurch would seem to suggest a church whose gables were, like those of Heorot in *Beowulf*, adorned with horns or perhaps rather one whose architectural ornaments suggested a resemblance to some horned animal.

Wells and springs were often credited with miraculous healing powers and became objects of popular reverence. Very numerous are the Holliwells, Halliwells, Holywells and Halwills which testify to this, while in the Danelaw we meet with the Scandinavian equivalent Hallikeld. It is a little more difficult to know why the epithet 'holy' is applied to a tree in Somersetshire Hallatrow, to a ford in the Middlesex Halliford.⁷⁵ Another tree with sacred associations would seem to be found in

Cressage in Shropshire, whose early forms suggest its interpretation as 'Christ's Oak.'⁷⁶ One is not surprised to find that this last has been associated with the scene of St. Augustine's miracle against the Druids.

In the study, too, of mediaeval means of communication, place-names are peculiarly happy in the illustrations which they provide. No surer reminder of the importance of the Roman and Romanised system of roads could be found than the many forms in which the Latin (*via*) *strata* has, through its Old English loan form *stræt*, worked itself into our place-names as in all the Strettons and Strattons, the Stratfords and Stretfords, the Stratfields and Streatfields, the Streatleys and Streetleys, the Sturtons and the like. It is significant also how much more frequent is *ford* as a place-name suffix than *bridge*, and how often names of fords are preceded by a personal name, that doubtless of the man who owned them and took toll for their use. We have mention of a few stone bridges, but much more common are references to wooden ones, such as Woodbridge in Suffolk, Elmbridge in Huntingdonshire and Gloucestershire and Surrey, Stockbridge in Sussex and Hampshire, or, most frequent of all, to mere plank bridges. *Thel* (M.E. *thele*) is the O.E. word for a plank and is found in Thele in Hertfordshire and Berkshire, Thelbridge in Devonshire and Elbridge in Kent and Sussex, where we have a curious misdivision of the word whereby *Thelbridge* is taken to be *Th'elbridge* and then the supposed definite article is dropped.⁷⁷ At the other extreme from the Roman roads we have the numerous places in England called Anstey or Ansty. I have noted at least half-a-dozen. Anst(e)y is the O.E. *anstig*, a 'sty' or 'path for one,' and its general character can perhaps best be inferred from the fact that

Beowulf's tracking of Grendel's mother took place along such *anpaðas* across the swamps and fens. That travelling was no easy matter is illustrated in neat fashion by the Hertfordshire Flamstead. This is the O.E. *flæmstede*, 'place of refuge.' The manor of Flamstead was held in later days by the duty of providing protection for travellers⁷⁸ and it is possible that its Old English name gives us evidence that the obligation was a much older one.

And so one might go on, but I hope that the latter part of my paper has proved in sufficient measure the wealth of historical suggestion and illustration to be found in place-names, just as I would fain trust that in the first part I showed the value of these names as an auxiliary in the forces of historical research.

Throughout the paper you will have noticed, that again and again my statements are tentative and suggestive rather than dogmatic or assertive. That is not due, I am convinced, to any weakness of the case for place-name study, rather it is due to the fact that we are only at the beginning of organised place-name study in this country. It has been my privilege, along with others, during these last few years to make a number of rapid excursions into these new countries and we are as spies bringing back report of a goodly country. We have gathered a few of the rich fruits, but we are deeply conscious that they can only be fully garnered when a whole army of workers well-equipped and well-organised, has gone up and taken full possession of the land. It is this consciousness which has prompted a small band of scholars working under the patronage of the British Academy to start a Survey of the Place-names of England. It will try to do for this country what has been done and is being done for the place-names of the

three Scandinavian kingdoms, viz., endeavour to secure not only that those names should individually be interpreted by scholars who will pay heed to all those considerations philological, historical and topographical, which must contribute to their solution but will also draw from them all those larger conclusions, historical and cultural, which are implicit in them.

The task is no easy one. It calls for great expenditure of energy and no little expenditure of money, it will take many years to complete, and demand the unstinted devotion of many scholars, but one would fain hope that in this, as in all else, the poets are the true seers, and that the sensitiveness of our modern poets to the haunting beauty of sound and association of our English place-names is prophetic of a real awakening of interest in this many-sided theme.

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS:—ASC (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle); BCS (Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*); BM (Index to Charters, etc. in British Museum), Ch (Charter Rolls); DB (Domesday Book); FA (Feudal Aids); Ipm (Inquisitions post mortem); Pat (Patent Rolls); PN (Place-names).

1. *Opera Historica*, ed. Plummer, i. 232
2. *ib.*, i. 183
3. *ib.*, i. 170
4. ed. Stevenson, p. 230
5. *Historians of the Church of York*, i. 432
6. *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, cccxxiv
7. *The Saxons in England* (1876 ed.), i. 59
8. 'Settlement of the South and East Saxons,' in *Commune of London*, pp. 1-27
9. *s.a.* 592 and 715
10. *Two Saxon Chronicles*, ed. Erle and Plummer, ii. 71
11. BCS 478
12. *ib.* 390
13. See Grundy on the 'Saxon battlefields of Wiltshire,' in *Arch. Journ.*, 2nd ser., xxv. 175-194
14. *Two Saxon Chronicles u.s.*, ii. 74
15. Fol 80a
16. *Times Literary Supplement*, Sept. 22, 1921. The rather surprising addition of *tun* to the dative plural has its parallel in *Badumtun* (ASC 906D)
17. BCS 541 and 758
18. Alexander, *PN of Oxfordshire*, s.n., Asser (ed. Stevenson), p. 228
19. ed. Thorp, ii. 45
20. BCS 34
21. *u.s.*, i. 171
22. BCS 927
23. Mawer, *PN of Nthb. and Durham*, s.n.
24. Fol 291b
25. *s.a.* 921
26. *Notes on the Systematic Study of PN* (Address to Congress of Archaeological Societies, 1900), p. 2
27. *PN of Lancashire*, pp. 224-237
28. *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 21
29. *op. cit.*, pp. 227-233
30. Leeds, *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, pp. 116-119; Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iv. 744ff.
31. *Wiltshire Mag.*, Dec. 1921, p. 344
32. DB *Hibaldestoue*, *Johannestou*, FA 1316 *Stowe S. Edwardi*, *ib.* 1284 *Christenestowe*, 1316 *Godestowe*, DB *Halestou*

33. Bannister, *PN of Herefordshire* s.n.
34. Maitland, *Collected Papers*
- ii. 87
35. Fol. 13a
36. Ipm
37. FA
38. Sedgfield, *PN of Cumberland* s.n.
39. Information from his forthcoming ed. of *Feet of Fines* for Hy. 3 for the YAS
40. *op. cit.*, pp. 245-8
41. cf. *Arch. Aeliana*, 3rd ser., xviii. 1-18
42. ASC *passim*
43. Professor Collingwood at the British Association, Hull, 1922
44. FA 1316 *Ergbes*, DB *Argum*, *Argun*, *Ergome*, *Ergun*
45. FA 1316 *Folclond*
46. See Eyton, *Domesday Studies* 121, 131, 135 for Dorset; BM for Glouc.; Stenton, *PN of Berkshire*, p. 21; BCS 1314 for Hants.; FA 1316 for Oxon. and DB 94a, 31b, 157b, 65b, 70b for the others.
47. FA 1316 *Tenbyde*, Ch 1227 *Cumbe in Tenhide*, Eyton u.s., p. 137
48. Foxearle, Sx. (DB *Foxer*, *Folsalre*); Willey, Beds. (DB *Wilga*); Easwirth, Sx. (DB *Isiwiride*)
49. Langtree, Glos. and Oxon.; Appletree, Derbys.; Greytree, Heref.; Elstub, Wilts.; Nobottle Grove, Northants. (DB *Neubotlagrave*), Aveland and Framland, Lincs. and Wayland, Norf.
50. DB *Smetheduna*
51. Roborough, Berks. and Ruloe, Cheshire (DB *Roelau*), Langbaugh, Yorks., Swanborough, Sx. and Wilts., Knightlow, Warw.
52. Earlier *Criche*
53. DB 7b
54. Pat 1271 *Bucros*, Ipm Ed. i *Bukrosse*
55. ASC s.a. 1087 *Beorclea byrnesse*
56. DB *Alfrunetone*, FA 3116 *Burghildebury*, Earle, *Landed Charters* p. 219 *Baltry deleage*, DB *Wildredelege*, *Hildeburhwelle* (sic), *Werildeham*
57. DB *Rageniltorp*, *Elpetorp*, *Hilgertorp* (sic) and *Gunildethorp*, quoted by Mutschmann, *PN of Nottinghamshire* s.n.
58. Stenton, *Danelaw Charters* pp. lii and lxxvii and *Gilbertine Charters*, pp. xxiii and xxiv, Boehmer *Die Eigenkirchtum* (Liebermann Festgabe)
59. Worc. Surv. *Aelfithe cyrce*, Ch 1257 *Offecherche*, DB 223b *Bucheminstre*, BCS 729 *Piping minstre*, FA 1428 *Lestancherche*
60. Fol. 82a, 39b
61. Fol 201b, 223b
62. Fol 223b. Even this case is doubtful for one cannot equate a *ceorl* and a free thane, but we have in any case a composite holding, the status of whose holders may have risen since the place was first named.
63. See further Stenton, *PN of Berkshire*, p. 20
64. Ch 1340
65. Fol 356a

66. Pat
 67. DB *Leisincbi*, *Laisenbia*, *Leisingebi*
 68. Ekwall s.n.
 69. BM c. 1200 *Wodnesberge*, DB *Wodnesleie*, BCS 1073. For Wednesbury and Wednesfield, see Duignan, *PN of Staffs*.
 70. Guisborough Chartulary (Surtees Society) *passim*.
 71. BCS 384 *æt bearge*, Ch 1332 (Hy 2) *Hargheduna*
 72. Ekwall s.n.
 73. Baddeley, *PN of Glos.* s.n., Duignan, *PN of Warwickshire* and of *Staffs* s.n.
 74. BCS, 264 *scuccan blau*. This identification is due to Mr. F. G. Gurney of Edgington, Leighton Buzzard.
 75. Cottonian Verses ll. 26-28
 76. FA *Kystermeldon*, 1318 Ch *Kistermelebrigg*, DB *Christemeleforde*, Duignan, *PN of Worc.*, s.n., Gover, *PN of Middlesex* s.n., DB *Meldone*, ASC *Meldun*, Skeat, *PN of Beds.*, s.n.
 77. FA 1303 *Fouchurche*, 1316 *Fowechurch*
 78. DB *Helgetreu*, Gover u.s., s.n.
 79. DB *Cristesache*. For the last two see BCS 869 *þælbrycg*, 50 *thelryeg*, Page, *VCH of Herts.*, ii. 149, 150 and 194.



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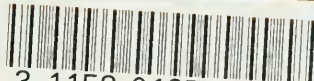
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